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ABSTRACT

Differences in the role of Standard Australian English (SAusE) in a variety of Australian language educational programs are explored. The value of teaching SAusE (as opposed to a more international Standard English) both to non-native speakers learning English as a Second Language and to Aboriginal English speakers learning SAusE as a second dialect is evaluated. It is argued that it is important that such students understand SAusE in order to interact successfully with Australian English speakers outside the classroom and to maximize their English language fluency. However, it is stressed that the students must also be taught to distinguish those elements of SAusE that differ from core World English. In addition, the history of the academic study of Australian English is reviewed, extant English language programs in the country are discussed, and dialects or varieties of Australian English are examined. (JL)

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Standard Australian English as a second language and as a second dialect.

Susan Kaldor

The aim of this paper is to explore differences in the role of Standard Australian English (hereinafter abbreviated to SAusE) in a variety of language educational programmes in which Australian teachers of English have been engaged over the past few decades. The implications for teaching approaches and practices of the existence of such differences will be discussed and an attempt will be made to identify areas in need of future research. The emphasis will be on programmes which involve second language or second dialect teaching approaches. In order to consider these matters it will be necessary to define SAusE for the purposes of this paper and to indicate some areas of difference between it and other standard varieties of English.

As any writer faced with the task of using the term Standard English knows all too well, the concept for which the term stands is singularly elusive. There seems to be a great deal of uncertainty in its use and variations occur along several dimensions, a few of which have to be briefly considered here.

There seems to be a consensus in the literature that Standard English is a variety which, like other standard varieties, has certain distinctive properties developed throughout its history through such processes as *selection, codification, elaboration* and *acceptance* (Hudson, 1980: 33) and which therefore plays a distinctive role in nations and speech communities where it is used as a native or as a foreign or as a second language. However, there is no complete consistency as regards the referent of the term in actual usage. It is applied at times to indicate an abstract entity larger than its component regional varieties, a sum total of those varieties. In other formulations it is seen as an entity which consists only of the shared properties of all of its component varieties, a non-regional, denationalised variety suited to global communication. Some regard it as an ideal to be achieved through English language education, a norm towards which speakers strive. Some writers use the term as though it represented a code, the principal role of which is to perform the function of serving as a vehicle of official, formal, scientific and scholarly communication. Occasionally the term is used without qualifying adjectives to refer to a standard regional variety. In recent years many linguists have come to see Standard English as a *dialect* but it is not always made clear whether the term *dialect* then indicates the global, overarching variety or a regional variety of it, though mostly the term *regional standard* is added when distinctive properties of regional varieties are in focus.

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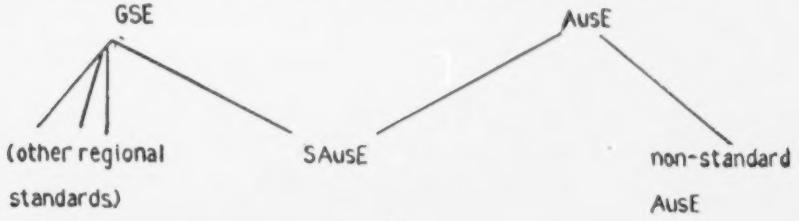
In this paper regional standards will be referred to by specific labels, e.g. *Standard British English* (SBE), *Standard American English* (SAmE), *Standard Australian English* (SAusE). The term *General Standard English* (GSE) will be used to refer to the common core of the various regional standards. The term *International English* will also be used to refer to this latter variety in certain contexts for the sake of simplicity, although it is realized that the two terms may evoke very different connotations, the term *standard* suggesting norms, standardisation, unity and a single model and the term *international* suggesting accommodation, negotiation and a plurality of models (see e.g. Kachru, 1985: 29, Smith, 1983: v).

Regional standard Englishes have recently been classified by Kachru (1985: 16) into three types associated with three "fellowships of English", viz the *norm providing varieties* (the inner circle), which include primarily the British and the American models; the *norm-developing varieties* (the outer circle) and *the norm-dependent varieties* (the expanding circle). Kachru mentions Australian and New Zealand varieties under the first heading but notes that "there is still resistance toward accepting these varieties" as models. This matter will be further explored later in this paper.

SAusE is defined for the purposes of this paper as a regional standard dialect of English recognized by Australians with a certain (though not accurately specifiable) level of education obtained in Australia as being a suitable vehicle for expressing themselves *in official, formal as well as in informal situations in speech and in writing*. While it shares a common core with the two main norm-providing varieties, SBE and SAmE, it also differs from them in a number of features. It is suggested that such a definition is useful as it allows for the inclusion not only of written academic or official discourse but also of discourse features, colloquialisms, ellipses, and other aspects of what Milroy and Milroy (1985: 145) have called *unplanned discourse*. It can be extended also to the examination of pragmatic rules and the ethnography of communication associated with SAusE. It will be argued that, from a pedagogical point of view, a holistic picture is more appropriate than one which limits the notion of a standard to official and written manifestations. SAusE is thus seen as a variety which has ties with both GSE and *Australian English* (AusE), this latter term being reserved for an entity that includes both standard and non-standard Australian speech. This can be represented diagrammatically as follows:



Having said that SAusE is a distinct dialect, we may, following Kachru (1965), now address the question as to what constitutes the *Australianness* of SAusE. This will necessitate a brief glance at the literature available on AusE in general.

While recent years have seen a proliferation of research on AusE, the literature available is still far from presenting anywhere near as complete a picture as is available on BE or AmE. It has to be remembered that the scholarly study of AusE is of very recent origin. It is only since the pioneering works of writers such as Mitchell and Delbridge in the forties, fifties and sixties that AusE in any of its varieties has been deemed to be worthy of serious scholarly attention. Before that time whatever was Australian about AusE was regarded by many as deviations from SBE, the main prestige model in Australia for many years. The only items of AusE which were recognised as valid contributions to the prestige model were specifically Australian vocabulary items relevant to the Australian physical environment - flora, fauna, geographical features of the landscape - which entered the general stock of English words all around the world. As Mitchell describes vividly in one of his early publications on AusE, British visitors to Australia were critical of and made derisory comments on Australian speech, especially with regard to Australian pronunciation. It is therefore understandable that he set out to answer the impressionistic, unscientific criticisms with the first scholarly and objective study of the pronunciation of AusE (Mitchell, 1947).

Perhaps because of the low prestige overseas and within the community itself of the Australian accent, and possibly because it is the most immediately recognisable characteristic of the *Australianness* of AusE, phonology has continued up to this day to be one of the most widely studied areas. Much of the emphasis has been on what Mitchell and Delbridge (1965) regarded as the 'diagnostic' vowel sounds in the words *beat, boot, say, so, high* and *how*, differences in which led the authors to identify three main categories of Australian speech spread all over the continent, viz *Broad Australian, General Australian and Cultivated Australian*. The realisations of these vowel sounds form a spectrum, with broad speakers being at the end farthest from, and cultivated speakers being closest to BE Received Pronunciation. Other phonological features studied over the years have included elisions, intonation and more recently, consonantal variables (Horvath, 1985), connected speech processes (Ingram, 1989) and the *High Rising Tone* (Horvath, 1985) also known as the *Australian Questioning Intonation*, a "high-rising intonational contour on declarative clauses, where no question is intended" (Guy and Vonwiller, 1989), used especially by young female speakers. Increasingly sophisticated sociolinguistic analytical methods applied to phonological data during the past few years (Horvath, 1985, Guy and Vonwiller, 1989, Lee, 1989) have called

attention to changes currently in progress in Australian speech and have pointed to the need for revising Mitchell and Delbridge's original classification. However, in spite of all the revisions in categorisation and in spite of changes that have occurred since Mitchell and Delbridge's studies, the fact remains that some Australian phonological features are more likely to be associated with standard speech than others.

It is often argued by dialectologists that accent should be seen as distinct from other features of a dialect as it is possible to speak with standard grammar and vocabulary use but with a distinctive regional accent (e.g. Trudgill, 1975, Strevens, 1983). In the Australian case it is possible for someone to speak with a broad Australian accent and with standard grammar, using only formal vocabulary. From the point of view of pedagogical implications, however, it is important to know more about the relationship between the use of standard grammar and the position of the speaker's pronunciation along the spectrum from Broad through General to Cultivated Australian. So far this aspect has not received much attention. We have defined SAusE as a dialect which serves its speakers in all communicative functions in their daily lives. It is thus an integral system of which phonology is an essential part. When SAusE serves as a target and model variety in English language education programmes, it is important to determine what its phonological properties are.

Apart from phonology, it is the vocabulary, idiomatic expressions and colloquialisms of AusE that have been the most extensively studied. There is a wealth of literature on distinctive Australian vocabulary usages (see Blair, 1978, Collins and Blair, 1989). During the past decade two very important dictionaries of AusE have been published, viz the Macquarie Dictionary (Delbridge, 1981) and the Australian National Dictionary (Ramson, 1988). In order to identify some of the needs of language education programmes, it will be necessary to review briefly the coverage of these two works.

The Macquarie Dictionary is an extensive (88,000 headwords) dictionary of English aimed especially at the Australian user whom it serves as a complete guide not only to Australianisms but to the general stock of English words. It is not complementary to other standard works, but rather is intended to serve as an alternative comprehensive dictionary of English for Australians. The exclusively Australian vocabulary and idiom and the general stock of English words are merged in a single alphabetical ordering. In his introductory essay Delbridge divides the contents of the dictionary into two large classes: The first is the class of General Words, this category having two subclasses: (i) words labelled *colloquial* and (ii) unlabelled words. The latter are deemed to be suited to both formal and informal use, while the former, labelled, words are appropriate only for use when the speaker or writer is not under constraint to choose formal vocabulary but feels free to choose from the "informal, slang, vulgar or taboo elements of the lexicon" (p. 15). The second major class is that of words in

specialised areas such as scientific terms, terms used in various occupations etc. The dictionary also contains words in 'peripheral areas' such as the vocabulary of minorities and alternative cultures. Some obsolete words which had currency in earlier periods of Australian history are also included.

The Australian National Dictionary is very different from the Macquarie Dictionary as it is a dictionary exclusively devoted to Australianisms. It is not intended to be a dictionary for general use, but is rather aimed at a readership with serious scholarly interest in Australian history, Australian literature and the history and current state of AusE. The 10,000 entries represent words which "originated in Australia, which have a greater currency [in Australia] ... than elsewhere and which have special significance because of their connection with an aspect of the history of the country" (Ramson, 1988: vi). The dictionary contains words in general use as well as vocabulary specific to certain occupations or activities, eg shearing and goldmining. Entries on a single page may include items frequently heard in contemporary conversation, items which have become obsolete, and items which had or have rather restricted use.

The scholarly literature on the Australian lexicon has been supplemented by a whole spectrum of writings ranging from collections of Australianisms for the general reader (Baker 1945, Wilkes 1986, Delbridge 1984), through works of fiction, to a burgeoning stock of popular and humorous writings devoted to Australianisms such as O'Grady's Aussie English (O'Grady 1965) and Let Stalk Strine by 'Afferbeck Lauder' (Lauder 1966, the pseudonym being a play on the term 'alphabetical order' as pronounced in 'Strine'). In addition to the printed literature there is also a great deal of source material on Australianisms available in the electronic media and in films. Media celebrities have taken Australianisms to international audiences, occasionally popularising until then rarely used words and idiomatic expressions and at items actually inventing Australianisms. The use of Australianisms for humorous effect by entertainers has been a growing trend. The very terms mocking Australian English, *Strine* and *ockerism* have become part and parcel of the lexicon of AusE.

In all this rich (from the point of view of an ESL learner perhaps too rich) pool of Australianisms it is quite difficult for teachers or material writers engaged in ESL programmes to separate out from the mix of relevant and irrelevant material an appropriate selection of items which are *known to and frequently or occasionally used by* speakers of SAusE and which would therefore be useful for their students to know and understand even if these students themselves may not use some or any of them in their own speech. Such a selection may contain a number of very different types of items, to single out just a few types:

(a) words and phrases which are not colloquialisms but have distinctive Australian meanings eg *backyard, station, barrack, thong, bush, outback, scrub, paddock, lay-by, home unit, licensed restaurant;*

(b) colloquialisms used by many people who would consider themselves to be SAusE speakers and who would regard these as being acceptable and indeed appropriate in many situations eg *shoot through* (leave suddenly), *beaut, beauty* (excellent), *it's my shout* (my turn to pay for drinks or food), *mozzie* (mosquito) *bite, reggo* (car registration), *he's a mug, a nong* (stupid, silly, a fool), *grog* (alcoholic drink), *it's a stinker / scorcher* (a very hot day), *a journo* (a journalist), *give it a go* (try it, make an attempt at doing it), *fair go* (give someone or something a chance, be fair), *fair dinkum* (true, genuine), *to rubbish* (tease), *tucker* (food), *ute* (small truck), *esky* (container to carry and keep cool drinks), *Buckley's chance* (no chance), *good on you* (speaker approval of what hearer has said or done), *bring a plate* (contribute a dish to a party), *feeling crook* (unwell), *offsider* (assistant), *a rort* (a racket, taking dishonest financial advantage of a situation), *see you later* (used as a general phrase on parting, not necessarily intending to or believing to be in a position to see the addressee later), *she'll be right* (it'll be O.K);

(c) acronyms and abbreviations in everyday currency in conversations by SAusE speakers, eg TAFE (Technical and Further Education), Dip Ed (Diploma of Education), TAB (Totalisator Agency Board), BYO (bring your own drinks to a party), VFL (Victorian Football League);

(d) words and phrases relating to specifically Australian referents, viz Australian flora, fauna (many of which have their origins in Aboriginal languages), Aboriginal life, features of the Australian landscape and Australian institutions, eg *wattle, wallaby, dingo, brolga, claypan, waterhole, corroboree, dreamtime, dreaming, sacred site, legislative assembly, legislative council, double dissolution;*

(e) food and other products and brand names some of which have become symbols or badges of national identity eg *pavlova, lamington, Akubra, vegemite* and

(f) Colloquialisms and turns of phrase which may be shared with speakers of other regional standards, but which occur frequently in the casual speech of speakers of SAusE eg *have a yarn, fair enough.*

In much of both the scholarly and popular literature all the above categories of items - items that may be classed as Australianisms in common use and therefore of interest to ESL learners - are merged with items of limited current use, viz items less likely to be used by SAusE speakers, items of relevance to specialized groups only (eg shearers' vocabulary), items that are

archaic or of historical interest only (eg wartime slang), items that are folksy, exaggerated, rarely used and items invented for entertainment or for stereotyping AusE speech. There seems to be a definite need for research on the question of what part of the specifically Australian vocabulary and phrase stock is regularly used by speakers of SAusE and can therefore be regarded as a component of SAusE.

While AusE pronunciation, vocabulary and idiom have been in the limelight in both the scholarly and popular literature, there has been much less focus on distinctive features of grammar and it seems that there are very few such features in which SAusE differs from SBE or SAmE. Most of the observations relevant to grammatical usage by SAusE speakers refer to trends and ongoing changes rather than well established distinctive features. In some grammatical features which reflect ongoing change SAusE is somewhere between SAmE and SBE, in some aspects closer to SAmE, in others closer to SBE and in yet others differing from both. Examples noted in the literature include such features as a tendency to use *will* and *would* instead of *shall* and *should*, in first person subjects; a preference for singular verbs with collective nouns as in *the team has won* ... (Trudgill and Hannah, 1982); a preference for negatives with *do* in question tags attached to *have to* as in *they have to ..., don't they* (Collins, 1989). A preference for *or* over *nor* in alternative statements, for *but* over *yet* in adversative statements and a high overall level of subordinating conjunctions in newspaper data were noted by Peters et al (1988). Collins, (1989: 148), while emphasising that at this stage only tentative conclusions can be reached, observes that where there is linguistic change in progress, Australian speakers are "less linguistically conservative than their American and particularly British counterparts". Some of the findings of his study also indicate that in the case of some items associated with strong normative prescriptions, Australian speakers are often ready to flout the norm.

Most other writers who have looked at distinctive grammatical usages in AusE have concentrated mainly on non-standard varieties (Eagleson, 1976, Shnukal, 1978, Eisikovits, 1989). These will be considered later in this paper.

An area that has hardly been touched and one that needs to be explored most urgently for pedagogical purposes is spoken and written discourse patterning. A few writers have made a start in this field, eg Clyne (1985a), Neustupny (1985), Poynton (1989), but a great deal more has to be done. Much has been said in the sociological and popular literature about 'the Australian character' but there is little documentation in the sociolinguistic or applied linguistic literature of how certain character traits or societal values translate into verbal interaction or discourse patterns. Renwick (1983), studying American-Australian interaction in Asian settings in multinational business firms and in cross-cultural exchange programmes conducted for these firms, noted that while Americans placed highest values on loyalty to work, Australians were more

concerned with mateship. Australians displayed less respect for exceptional qualities of others, tended to speak cynically, used "hundreds of casual, colourful terms to suggest a tone of amiable, tolerant contempt", were suspicious of pretensions and did not favour hierarchies in social interaction. His work, as Clyne's, Neustupny's and Poynton's, point to a need for much more future research. We are far from having available even a sketchy outline of an ethnography of Australian communication. Speech events, genres, discourse strategies associated with SAusE are areas waiting to be explored. It is likely that it is in this area that speakers of SAusE will be found to differ most markedly from speakers of both SBE and SAmE.

Another newly emerging research area is concerned with contemporary linguistic change in SAusE. One of the significant changes is the growing influence on SAusE of American vocabulary, grammatical usage, idiomatic expressions and discourse patterns (Sussex, 1989, Taylor, 1989, Peter and Fee, 1989). Examples include *to access, to trial, to impact on something;* the greeting *hi* competing with the formerly exclusive use of *hello* in comparable situations; *guy* competing with *bloke, movies* competing with *pictures*. Just how SAusE will accommodate this influx is of considerable interest.

In addition to the features noted in the foregoing, a general feature of AusE must also be mentioned as this is of considerable interest to educational planners, viz the remarkable homogeneity of the dialect throughout the continent. While recent years have seen a proliferation of studies on regional variation (Ramson, 1989, Bryant, 1989, Bernard 1989, Bradley, 1989) and while the regional differences which are being identified are of obvious significance and interest, such differences are only minor and certainly do not present any communication problems to speakers of AusE from any two parts of the continent.

So far we have considered SAusE from the point of view of its distinctiveness from SBE and SAE. From a pedagogical point of view it is equally important to look at another delineation - the boundaries between SAusE and non-standard varieties of English spoken in Australia. From this point of view SAusE can be characterized mainly in negative terms, eg SAusE does <u>not</u> have certain features which have been isolated by various writers in two varieties of non-standard spoken in Australia, viz one that may be called General Australian Non-standard English spoken by some Australian born speakers of Anglo-Celtic-Australian backgrounds, and the other, Aboriginal English, spoken by some Australians of Aboriginal descent. Varieties of the former have been described by Eagleson (1976), Shnukal (1978) Eisikovits (1989) and others. Some typical features of this variety as illustrated by Eagleson (1976) are: use of present forms for past function of certain verbs, eg come ("last Saturday ... when she come in"), 'have omission' ("It's the way they been brought up"); 'done' in past tense function ("I done all the talking"); 'weren't' for 'wasn't' ("She weren't

scared any more"); double negatives ("they're not gonna hit me no more"), adjectival forms used for adverbs ("she could speak as good as they could"), them for those ("there is something wrong with them people"). It needs to be noted that many of the features of this variety are not really exclusive to AusE as a virtually identical list occurs in many other non-standard dialects of English (cf Trudgill, 1975: 44).

Aboriginal English, in some of its varieties, displays many more features that are exclusive to it. There is a wide continuum ranging from Southern urban varieties to those spoken in Northern and desert areas. The urban varieties share many features with General Australian Non-standard English while the varieties spoken in the North display evidence of influences from both the original indigenous Aboriginal languages and from the new English-based creoles (especially the variety now known in the distinctive spelling *Kriol*, see eg Sandefur, 1985) spoken by Aboriginal people in the North. In this paper it is not possible to include the long list of features which characterise the Northern varieties of Aboriginal English, but perhaps a few selected examples listed by Kaldor and Malcolm (1982, 1985) may give the reader some illustration of the fact that this dialect, while sharing some features with other non-standard dialects of English around the world, is, indeed, distinctive and exclusive to the Australian continent. These are as follows: *bin* plus invariable present of a verb corresponding to GSE past tense ("e bin fall down" = he fell down); the transitive maker *-im* (we bin takeim cake for him) *gotta* functioning as instrumental (he got the butterfly gotta net); *'e got* corresponding to SE' there is, there are' ('e got big long school there), copula omission (my name really Bill), exclusive first person plural pronoun *mipela* or *mela* (mipela went to Derby), *longa* or *la* in locative and allative function (go la nother tree). Aboriginal English also uses a stock of distinctive vocabulary items, some having their origins in Aboriginal languages (my daddy ... 'e bin chase that *karlaya* [emu]), others in creoles, yet others being distinctive Aboriginal usages of standard English vocabulary items, eg the word *cousin brother* meaning parallel cousin.

Having attempted to delineate SAusE from other varieties of Standard on the one hand, and from non-standard varieties of English spoken in Australia on the other, we may now turn to the role that SAusE plays in different English language educational programmes in Australia.

The main English language educational programmes involving second language or second dialect teaching approaches are as follows: (1) English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students (ELICOS) (2) ESL for child and adult immigrants from non-English-speaking backgrounds and for speakers of traditional Aboriginal languages; and (3) Teaching Standard English as a Second Dialect to speakers of Aboriginal English.

Before looking at the various categories of teaching tasks outlined above, it will be useful to recall a distinction frequently made in the applied linguistics

literature - the distinction between *instrumental* and *integrative* motivation of the learners. The motivation of learners of English in Australia is likely to be tied up with the question as to whether the learner is a permanent resident in Australia (or wishes to become one), or whether he/she is a *sojourner*, here for limited periods of time and pursuing specific goals such as learning English or undertaking tertiary or postgraduate studies. There will, of course, be many individual differences and differences depending on the length of time the learner expects to be in Australia, but it can be assumed that in sojourners on the whole instrumental motivation is likely to be stronger, while in intending or actual permanent residents integrative motivation is likely to dominate. On the basis of such distinctions ELICOS programmes differ markedly from the other two types of programme.

ELICOS is a vigorous industry which has, over the past ten years, produced a great proliferation of programmes. The use of the term 'industry' seems justified as tertiary institutions and private colleges, all members of the ELICOS Association and all approved by the Commonwealth Department of Employment, Education and Training, vie with each other in marketing their courses in many countries especially in Asia. It originated from the realisation that there is a great demand in the region for learning English in a country where English is the first language of the majority of the population and where, as a consequence, a 'native-like' competence in English can be acquired. While the Australian environment with its clement climate, spaciousness and attractive cities (the ELICOS brochure of the University of Western Australia advertises Perth as a "relaxed, attractive and safe city") and Australia's proximity to Asian countries are themselves strong selling points, the ELICOS industry also emphasizes the fact that Australia has joined the United Kingdom and the United States as another great centre for learning English. This reflects a growing confidence in the use of SAusE as an entry point to International English as the students' ultimate aim is to gain proficiency in English which should be usable anywhere around the world.

While in the brochures of some individual programmes it is explicitly stated that their courses provide an introduction to Australian culture and Australian life in general and to Australian tertiary life in particular, explicit overall policies relevant to the role of SAusE and the relationship between SAusE and International English do not seem to have been formulated as yet. ELICOS courses may use materials written in SBE, SAmE as well as SAusE (though the latter are not available in abundance). Teachers themselves come from a variety of standard English speaking backgrounds and are by no means all speakers of SAusE. The thrust of the teaching is towards IE or a form of 'internationally compatible SAusE'[2], with particular emphasis on academic use, writing and study skills so that students coming out of the Australian system are not disadvantaged by comparison with students who study English in the United

Kingdom or the United States. At the same time, it is realised that, if the learning experience is to be total and authentic, then students in ELICOS courses in Australia must be able to make the most of the learning opportunities available in an English speaking country by interacting with members of the community outside the courses, even if they only come to Australia for limited periods of time. Thus SAusE is a necessary though not sole component in ELICOS courses.

It is often difficult in the context of ELICOS programmes to satisfy all these needs in a limited period of time. A problem is also presented by the fact that at least some students are likely to have instrumental rather than integrative motivation. The attitudes of such learners to AusE may not be very positive. An extensive survey of student attitudes carried out by Shaw (1981) in three Asian countries (Singapore, India and Thailand) indicated that Australian English rated extremely low in preferences, far below British and American English when students were asked to complete the sentence "I think that we should learn to speak English (1) like the British, (2) like the Americans (3) like the Australians and (4) in our way. The results of this survey would suggest that some students may come to Australia with negative attitudes towards SAusE while having highly positive attitudes towards English in general.

Teachers and planners in ELICOS courses are thus faced with the task of balancing somewhat conflicting requirements. If students learn best from authentic materials and if they are to make the most of being immersed in an English-speaking environment, then they have to accommodate to SAusE and have to be able to participate in conversations on topics of interest to Australians. At the same time, many may not wish to become 'too Australian' in their speech by the time they leave the country. Further, they need to be able to recognise specifically Australian items and usages so that they can substitute these with GSE items when communicating with non-Australian speakers of GSE after their departure.

In the author's view course components which are based on a policy of deliberate exploration of the role of SAusE can go a long way towards reconciling seemingly conflicting aims. Such course components could consist of information on both the similarities and differences between SAusE, SAmE and SBE and impart to the students an understanding of the role SAusE can play in the process of acquiring International English. For this task, teachers in ELICOS courses need access to sound and authentic Australian materials specially designed for the needs of ELICOS students and to materials which help them characterise the main norm-providing standard varieties of English.

The areas for future research that seem to emerge from examining the role of SAusE in ELICOS programmes are as follows: student attitudes toward SAusE, student conceptions of SAusE, discourse patterns used in speech and writing by SAusE speakers, the identification of Australianisms that may be

useful, necessary and valuable for ELICOS students. If these areas are adequately explored and if the information gained from them is ploughed into ELICOS courses, then it can be hoped that Australia will be recognized internationally as one of the norm-providing centres of English instruction - a position where Kachru (1986) had tentatively classified it.

The role of SAusE in TESL programmes for adult and child immigrants is somewhat more straightforward and presents fewer conflicts. SAusE is the only model needed in these programmes. As the learners are stayers and not sojourners, they are likely to have an integrative motivation towards communicating in English in Australia. The promotion of competence in SAusE in all Australians is a national goal explicitly stated in national language policies. Therefore, teachers of ESL do not need to devote course time to comparisons of SAusE and other standard varieties. While it is, of course, of importance for immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds to communicate not only with speakers of SAusE, but also with newly arrived British immigrants and speakers of other varieties of English, the primary aim of courses must remain communication with SAusE speakers as British and American speakers themselves are likely to make adjustments towards this norm. In these courses there is much more room for specifically Australian vocabulary, turns of phrase and idiomatic expression than there is in ELICOS courses, but it is important also in this context that students are made aware of differences between expressions that are known and used by SAusE speakers and those that are not. There are also a number of other sociolinguistically interesting and difficult questions for educators to solve, eg how to cater for the needs of individual students or groups of students in adjusting to particular types of speakers of AusE with whom they wish or with whom they are likely to have daily communication and how to make allowances for communicative patterns in English which may have developed within particular large ethnic communities themselves.

As ESL programmes have a much longer history than ELICOS programmes, their research requirements have been reviewed and discussed by numerous writers in a variety of professional journals. Here attention may be called to just one major area in which there is a need for much further information, and that is, once again, discourse patterns used by speakers of SAusE.

The task of teaching SAusE to speakers of Aboriginal English is a specialisation which is distinct from the teachers' tasks in both of the previously mentioned types of programmes. It differs from TESL in some very important respects which have been pointed out by the present author elsewhere (Kaldor 1980). Here perhaps only some of the most significant points of difference need to be mentioned. In contrast to ESL learners who are often hesitant speakers of interlanguages, speakers of Aboriginal English are usually fluent speakers of

their dialect which consists of features shared with SAusE and features which are not shared (the non-standard features). The speaker of the non-standard dialect *does not consider his/her dialect to be a different language*. Learning English for a speaker of Aboriginal English is not as meaningful an activity as it would appear to be to a learner who comes from a non-English speaking background. A further problem is that in the past Aboriginal English used to be regarded as a stigmatised form of speech, one that needed to be eradicated and replaced by SAusE. In recent years in Australia, as elsewhere, non-standard dialects are increasingly seen as valid linguistic systems which have important functions in their speech communities. They are no longer considered to be *deficient* but simply *different* from the standard dialect. Teaching Standard English, at least for teachers who are familiar with the new trends, no longer involves *replacement* but the *addition* of a second dialect.

Teaching Standard English as a Second Dialect (TSESD) is a task which requires a great deal of tact and very sophisticated language educational skills on the part of the teacher. He/she has to use the most effective approaches so that Aboriginal children are not denied access to the opportunities that the knowledge of SAusE provides for its speakers in Australian society, while at the same time ensuring that no child is made to feel embarrassed about his/her own speech variety. The teacher has to be well aware of the features of Aboriginal English, of elements that Aboriginal English shares with SAusE and elements exclusive to Aboriginal English, so that common elements may be built upon and differences may be pointed out. This way the child may become bidialectal, learning SAusE while retaining also his/her dialect that still has important functions within Aboriginal communities. Very often, especially in remote areas, the teacher may be the sole provider of SAusE model speech.

TSESD has many research needs, especially concerning teaching methodology. While a start has been made in this field, much more needs to be done to help the teacher of children who come to school speaking Aboriginal English.

There are a number of implications also for teacher education of the differences in the role of SAusE in the different types of programmes we have just outlined. While it is essential to ensure that teachers in all three types of programmes are knowledgeable on the subject of SAusE, those involved in ELICOS and TSESD programmes have further specialised needs. The ELICOS teacher needs to have a sound knowledge of the distinctive features of each of the norm-providing standard Englishes and of the relationship between SAusE and IE. He/she must be well aware of what speech patterns and colloquialisms have currency *only* in Australia and what patterns and colloquialisms are shared with AmE or BE or both. The teacher of speakers of Aboriginal English, on the other hand, needs to have grounding in TSESD methodology and in the structure and features of Aboriginal English and has to be able to make comparisons between that dialect and SAusE.

Summing up, this paper has explored the importance of Standard Australian English in both domestic and international English language education programmes undertaken by Australian educators. It has been argued that its role differs in different types of programmes and that the recognition of such differences is important for identifying future research areas and in planning teacher educations courses.

Notes

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2 This term was suggested by Ian Malcolm

Abbreviations used in this paper:

AusE = Australian English
AmE = American English
BE = British English
ELICOS = English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students
ESL = English as a second language
GSE = General Standard English
IE = International English
SAmE = Standard American English
SAusE = Standard Australian English
SBE = Standard British English
TSESD = Teaching Standard English as a Second Dialect

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